1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 593 576 [369] the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 369 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters, too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 585 [591] [824] Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching [271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 596 606 607 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the members of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[585] [587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] [777] [202] [535]

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard.

[535] [203] [262] [765]

On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] [262] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

[535] On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

[608] [788]

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

groom's relations. There is gay music and much shooting, which continues once the party has reached the bride's home. There the flag bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof and receives a ring biscuit from the bride in return. The groom gets off his horse and goes up the steps. As he reaches the top step, the bride's mother offers him wine and a boutonniere of basil, marjoram, or other plants, wrapped in a white handkerchief. The groom kisses her hand and she kisses him on both cheeks. She offers him wine, which he drinks, asking for her blessing. He returns the glass and puts the boutonniere in his lapel. The groom now enters the bride's home whereupon all relatives join him and, if they follow the old custom, give a small sum of money to the bride, who now turns toward the east and bows, then west, north, and south, so as to form the sign of the cross.

As soon as the relatives have received some sweet, the bride, usually leaning on the arm of a cousin, starts for the church. The others, including the groom's relatives, follow on foot. Then comes the church ceremony. When the couple have arrived at the altar, the priest begins to read the liturgy and then takes from a box the two wreaths of artificial blossoms, tied together by a ribbon, which the koumbaros has brought; the priest puts them together and says, starting with the man, "the Lord's servant [name] engages the Lord's servant [name]." He touches the foreheads of each as he says his or her name. He then holds the wreaths between the couple and makes the sign of the cross, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," three times for the groom and three times for the bride. The koumbaros, who is standing between the couple, receives the wreaths from the priest and, as the priest starts a chant, holds the wreaths over the heads of the couple and starts crossing them back and forth. When this is done, he puts the proper wreath on the proper person though the ribbon still connects the two wreaths. The same thing happens with the rings. After the koumbaros puts the rings on the correct fingers, the priest reads from the Bible, "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder" and separates the couple, who have been holding hands by the little fingers, by moving his hand between them. He next administers the communion — a sip of wine to the groom, the bride, and the koumbaros.

Perhaps the liveliest part of the whole proceeding is the "dance of Isaiah" which follows next. With the priest holding the Bible in one hand and the hand of the groom in the other, with the groom holding the bride, and the bride the koumbaros, the principals go around the table where the wreaths were laid before the ceremony started. They make the circuit three times, stopping four times in each circuit. During the course of this procession everybody is throwing bonbons and rice at the principals, sometimes with such telling force that the priest stops to warn the people not to be so energetic. The circuits completed, the couple and koumbaros resume their earlier position before the altar and listen to the priest read the final Scripture and receive his blessing.

In Artotina, the procession goes from the church to the bride's home. She is led by the groom and the koumbaros. The dowry is then loaded onto the pack animals to the accompaniment of traditional songs. The bride climbs upon the best animal and the groom, when mounted, takes a stand on her right. He takes a golden coin out of his pocket and hands it to her after making the sign of the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and sq[illegible]es it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [302] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts [184] a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in [777] Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 [177] Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

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On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

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Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

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Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

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1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)963 EH1 Greece EH1
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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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Vasilika

is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment.

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come.

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *liras*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years.

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father.

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony. After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village, usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself, or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime, he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 559 [581] [582] [612] [369] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

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Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

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help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek. When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses, at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through the church services from beginning to the end and when the women dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture. There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

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At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

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Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

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The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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